174/131 Four or five generations ago--it need have been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131/177 Today white men's ranches dot this same valley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121/123 During three successive summers it was my privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174/[173]/[171]/[173] The Tübatulabal say that they have always lived in the region where they are found today, but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

---

[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 [171] History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of 174 their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605). [101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was 177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading [797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43). In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan [721] territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this [621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of [241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP); [657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

[p. 9(a)]

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

517 these jars represent an interesting example, among a people with a comparatively simple culture, of artists playing with their technique, to degree of transferring it to another medium. Women informants' interest in these jars was fully as spontaneous as their interest in describing the money jars, admittedly their finest basketry products; ES, who no longer makes baskets, expressed her intention of making a piñon jar the next fall during the piñon harvest, for no utilitarian purpose whatsoever.

537 Speeches made to young persons at fiestas delivered by chief, dance manager, who talked "just like a peanut vendor does now" (FP). Formulas were also spoken in loud oratorical style.

533 Esoteric songs, such as those sung by shamans while curing, by rainmaker and assistants, by old man for deer hunters, etc., had words; SM remembered Yokuts (Monilabal) Coyote song:

[539]

"I'm Coyote,
Coyote singing;
I'm going to quit my song
When I go up in the sky."

Exoteric songs, such as those sung while sweating, at dances, for handgames, composed in main of meaningless syllables; SM gave dance song:

[539]

hawaya·nammi· nana
hawaya·nammi· hi· nanan
to·lo·hom i dyī

533 773 Myths sometimes had short songs in them, sung by characters in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193).

Pictographs fairly numerous in s. part of area; these "have always been there; they were 532 painted on the rocks by brownies (ya'hī'lwal) who ●173 are about the size of a 5-yr.-old child" (SM). [776] Pictographs are situated as follows (asterisk indicates sites visited, where figures were sketched):

532 On Bull Run creek; picture of man, woman, latter in green dress (SM).

*At pa·la·ku·č (see no. 25 under "Place Names," p. 40), a fishing site; (site no. 103 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, pl. 52c, d).

In Chimney meadows, at spring, s. end of meadow (SM).

*Near head of Chimney canyon, e. end of South Fork valley, 1/2 mi. SE of hamlet no. 3 (fig. 11). Pit mortar holes directly underneath painting.

Four mi. SE of Weldon, on ridge, 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek, 1 mi. S of ranch owned by Mr. Weaver Hand.

*Northern edge of South Fork valley, base of ridge 3/4 mi. SW of hamlet no. 2, near NE corner of ranch owned by Mr. J. Lowe.

*In South Fork valley, near hamlet no. 14 at base of mts.; (site no. 104 Pc in Steward, 1929, 110, fig. 40).

Packsaddle creek; (site no. 105 Pc, Steward, 1929, 111).

Representations of human figure numerous at Lowe site (fig. 13); several animal, a few human

Y
756 in red and white stripes (see section on Dress
789 and Adornment). Then they came back to a level
[415] place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind
791 a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T
V
756 Although most of informants said this was
789 doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only sha-
791 mans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T
● 173 One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon;
756 in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that
789 game; the white man saw when they shot each other.
791 "Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anaŋgat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

[768]

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

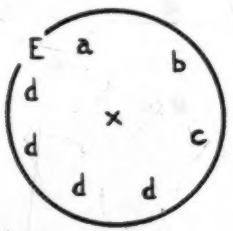

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

[p. 69(a)]

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupÏl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
765 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feath-
768 ers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pÏl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
●173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

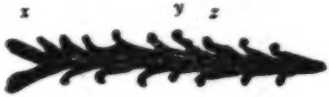

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

159 The following autobiography was taken in English from FP, her daughter LT interpreting, in 1933. FP gave the autobiography within a space of 2 weeks; a day or so after our last session together she went to Bakersfield for shamanistic treatment; on the return trip she was run over by a car and killed.

When first asked to tell the story of her life, FP demurred, saying she "had never been anywhere, just stayed in the South Fork valley all her life." The autobiography she gave is little more than an outline, which she was beginning to fill in with increasing amounts of detail, however, during the last few days I worked with her.

For the sake of clarity I have arranged the material in chronological order; parts of it were not so dictated. A photograph of FP is given in pl. 1b.

An autobiography of MM, FP's husband's brother's son, the Mike Miranda of the following pages, was obtained in text by Dr. C. F. Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

I was born about 2 yrs. after the soldiers killed all those Indians over at Kernville (1863); my older brother was still being kept in a cradle then and I was born about 2 yrs. later.

159 My mother used to tell me about the massacre;
173 Jose Chico pulled my father out from those men and the soldiers didn't kill him; he ran away. There was one man who was shot in the eye, but he had power and recovered. Lots of men were killed. The fight started over the Indians' killing other people's cattle; Jose Chico interpreted for the white men and the Indians; he was the man who took my father out. There were 3 men saved when the soldiers shot at the Indians.

159 One man had an amulet, a bearclaw with beads
173 on it. He was running and he got out of breath
751 and dropped that claw; then he was killed. The people found it afterward. If he hadn't lost his power he would have escaped all right. Another man had rattlesnake for his pet. He was badly hurt; his insides were all cut up; when the people saw him after the massacre there was a rattlesnake lying on top of him, and that snake made that man get all right. Rattlesnake was his pet and took care of him. That man's name was hi·ay·ši·l; he was a Monilabal (Yokuts). He got all right again; my father saw him when he was helping bury those dead Indians; he saw that rattlesnake come and help him. PN has a rattlesnake for her pet, too; perhaps she got it from dreaming. She never took jimsonweed, I know.

159 I was born at omomĭp (no. 6, fig. 11). My
163 mother had 8 children; most of them died before
165 they grew up. Three of my brothers died; all of them are dead now except myself; I am just left, one.

159 When I was a little girl I used to go with my
482 mother to pack wood. She tied a rope over her
857 chest and packed wood on her back; not too heavy

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
[342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do, they just moved all around; they'd camp under
173 some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

The Tübatulabal.

Origin and movements.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatu-
174 labal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history
131 is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

●173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

[p. 605]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 648 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

131 101 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water's fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the